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ADDITIONAL
OBSERVATIONS
TO
A SHORT NARRATIVE
OF THE
Horrid MASSACRE in *BOSTON*,
PERPETRATED
In the Evening of the 5th of *March* 1770.

Printed by ORDER of the Town of *Boſton*.
M DCC LXX.

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TO
A SHORT NARRATIVE
OF THE
Horrid Massacre, in BOSTON,
PERPETRATED
In the Evening of the 5th of March 1770.

R.P.J.C.B.

Printed by Order of the Town of Boston.
M,DCC,LXX.

THE extraordinary conduct of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms ſince the 5th of *March*, and their perſeverance in it, make it neceſſary to beſtow a few obſervations upon it; and upon divers matters, with which it ſeems to be connected*.

The ſaid Commiſſioners (excepting Mr *Temple*) have all retired from the town: and we find, on particular enquiry, they have not held a meeting of their board ſince the 9th of *March*. How they have diſpoſed of themſelves ſince that time we ſhall here relate.

Mr *Robinſon* is gone to *England:* He ſailed the 16th of *March*, and went not only without the leave but, as it is ſaid, contrary to the minds of his ſuperiors, ſignified to him from home. None but the few, intruſted with the ſecret, knew any thing of his going till after the departure of the veſſel in which he went.

Mr *Paxton* retired to *Cambridge*, four Miles from *Boſton*, and for the moſt part has continued there. He has divers times however viſited the town ſince that retiring.

Mr

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* The Copies of this Narrative, ſent to *England* and other Parts, conclude with the foregoing page. Since they were ſent, it has appeared neceſſary to add a few pages to the remaining Copies: to do which an opportunity has been given by the reſtraint laid on the publiſhing of the ſaid Narrative here. The reaſon of that reſtraint will appear by the following Vote of the Town, paſſed at the Town-Meeting held the 26th of *March*, namely, "The Com-
" mittee appointed to prepare a true State of Facts, relating to the
" execrable Maſſacre perpetrated on the Evening of the 5th Inſtant,
" in order that the ſame be tranſmitted to *Great Britain*, having
" accordingly reported, and the Report being accepted by the
" Town and ordered to be printed: And whereas the publiſhing
" of the ſaid Narrative with the Depoſitions accompanying it, in
" this County, may be ſuppoſed by the unhappy Perſons, now in
" Cuſtody for Trial, as tending to give an undue Bias to the
" minds of the Jury, who are to try the ſame. Therefore voted,
" That the Committee reſerve all the printed Copies in their
" Hands, excepting thoſe to be ſent to *Great Britain*, till the
" further Order of the Town.

" Atteſt, WILLIAM COOPER, Town-Clerk."

Mr *Hulton* ſometime ago purchaſed a place at *Brooklyn*, five Miles from *Boſton*, and has ever ſince reſided there.

Mr *Burch*, with his wife, has retired to Mr *Hulton*'s, who, together with Mr *Burch* (leaving their wives behind them) are now on a tour to *Portſmouth*, in the province of *New-Hampſhire*, where the laſt Account from thence left them. It is now above ſix weeks ſince a board of Commiſſioners was held: and it is utterly uncertain when there will be another.

From their firſt eſtabliſhment here, to the 11th of *June*, 1768, they held their boards regularly four days every week. They then retired on board the *Romney* man of war, and from thence to the caſtle: for what purpoſe, their letters and memorials lately publiſhed have ſufficiently informed the world. From their re-eſtabliſhment in *Boſton* in *November* 1768, to the 5th of *March*, 1770, they held their boards in the ſame regular manner. Since that time there have been but two board meetings, the laſt of which was on the 9th of *March*.

Now what do all theſe manœuvres ſince the 5th of *March* indicate? Is it poſſible to ſuppoſe they indicate any thing leſs than a deſign to take occaſion from the outrages and murders committed on the evening of that day by the ſoldiers (aſſiſted perhaps from the cuſtom-houſe) to repreſent the town in a diſadvantageous light? And does not their former conduct render this highly probable?—Beſides, it is a fact, that depoſitions have been taken in a ſecret manner, relative to that unhappy affair, to the prejudice of the town; and it is no way improbable that Mr *Robinſon* is gone home with memorials and letters from the Commiſſioners and others, accompanying ſuch depoſitions.

By ſome eſcapes, as well as by what the circumſtances above mentioned make probable, a pretty good judgment may be formed of the ſubſtance of thoſe Memorials, Letters, and Depoſitions, namely, that the Cuſtom-houſe was attacked—the revenue cheſt in danger, but ſaved by the firing upon the *mob*—The King's troops compelled to leave the town—the commiſſioners thence obliged for their ſafety to quit it alſo—the conſequent impoſſibility of their holding boards—the detriment thence ariſing to the revenue and his Majeſty's ſervice—all government at an end, and the Province in a ſtate of rebellion.

If theſe be, either in whole or in part, the ſubjects of the diſpatches ſent home, it is very proper a few obſervations ſhould be made upon them.

The Cuſtom-houſe attacked—a falſhood. The people drawn into *Kingſtreet*, were drawn thither by the cry of fire, and the outrages of the Soldiers, which occaſioned it. From the firſt appearance of the people in *Kingſtreet*, to the time of the firing upon them, there had not paſſed fifteen minutes. It might with as much truth be affirmed, that they made an attack upon the Cuſtom-houſe in *London*, as upon the Cuſtom-houſe in *Boſton*: of which latter there was not even a pane of glaſs broken.

The Revenue Cheſt in danger—a falſhood. It is not probable the cheſt is kept at the Cuſtom-houſe: but if it be, there was, and is, at leaſt as much danger of it from ſome of the out-door people employed under the Commiſſioners, as from any body elſe. It is certain that ſome of them are of an infamous character.

The troops compelled to quit the town—a falſhood. They quitted the town by the orders of their Commanding Officer, in conſequence of a *requeſt* from the Lieutenant Governor, who was adviſed by the council to *pray* the ſaid Officer to remove the troops. This *requeſt* and this *prayer* was obtained by an application from the town to the Lieutenant Governor. Into what times are we fallen, that the government of the province is reduced to the humiliating condition of making *ſuch a prayer!*

But ſuppoſing the troops had been compelled *vi & armis* to quit the town. It would have been a meaſure juſtifiable in the ſight of God and man. When the Soldiers, ſent hither for the declared purpoſe of aſſiſting the Civil Magiſtrate to keep the peace, were themſelves in a remarkable manner the breakers of the peace—When, inſtead of aſſiſting, they inſulted him; and reſcued offenders of their own corps from juſtice—when they frequently abuſed the inhabitants in the night—when they had entered into a combination to commit ſome extraordinary acts of violence upon the town; and in conſequence of it, on the evening of the Maſſacre, attacked the inhabitants wherever they met them; afterwards firing upon, and killing and wounding a number of them. When all this had been done, and more threatened, it was high time they ſhould be removed from the town. If there had

had been no other means of getting rid of them, the inhabitants would have had a right by that law of nature, which ſuperceeds all other laws, when they come in competition with it—the law of ſelf-preſervation—to have compelled them to quit the town. This law is radical in our nature, indelible from it, and uniformly operating, where it can operate, to the removal or deſtruction of every thing incompatible with it; and is abrogable by no other lawgiver than God himſelf, the great author of it. Therefore, although the reſiſting the King's troops in any thing they have a right by law to do, may be adjudged treaſon, yet when they act contrary to law, eſpecially in ſo outrageous a manner as in the preſent caſe, and retain a diſpoſition to repeat it, whereby the lives of the King's ſubjects are in danger, they then ceaſe to be the King's troops: that is, they are not the King's troops for any ſuch purpoſe, but ſo far become traitors; and on the failure of other means of riddance from them, which the time and circumſtances may make eligible and are lawful, they may (by the principles of all law, as well as by the great law above-mentioned, into which thoſe principles are reſolvable) be reſiſted and expelled: and not to do it, where it can be done, is a ſpecies of treaſon againſt the conſtitution, and conſequently treaſon in an equal degree againſt the King, and all his ſubjects.

The Commiſſioners obliged for their ſafety to quit the town—If one falſhood can be more ſo than another, this is the greateſt yet mentioned, and is as ridiculous as it is falſe. Their conduct and ſuch a declaration by no means agree. Would they in that caſe occaſionally viſit the town? Would they truſt themſelves in the environs of it? Could they think themſelves ſafe at *Cambridge* and *Brooklyn?* Could they think themſelves ſafe any where in the province, or indeed in *America?* Muſt they not know, if any evil were really intended them, it might eaſily overtake them any where, and every where on this ſide of the *Atlantic?* Some other reaſon than their ſafety muſt therefore be looked for to account for their retiring, and diſcontinuing their boards. A ſimilar proceeding of theirs in *June*, 1768, and their Letters and Memorials, lately publiſhed, give occaſion at leaſt to conjecture what that reaſon may be. Is it not probable it was to corroborate the ſaid depoſitions, and thence induce adminiſtration to think it neceſſary, not only that

troops already here ſhould be continued, but that a further number ſhould be ſent to ſtrengthen and ſupport them? If this meaſure cannot be effected, and ſhould the Commiſſioners be ſo unfortunate as to remain here unattacked in the abſence of the troops, it might naturally be thought they could have remained here without them in 1768; and therefore that they had put the nation to a very great expence, for no other purpoſe than further to alienate the affections of the *Americans*, and to give them an additional reaſon to wiſh themſelves independent of it: And hence the Commiſſioners might have cauſe to expect a national reſentment againſt them.—However injurious to us the effects of ſuch policy may be, we cannot but applaud it (on the principles of the *Machiavilian* ſyſtem) as it ſtands related to themſelves. If they thought their own exiſtence in danger, conſidered as Commiſſioners, how natural was it to uſe the means to ſupport it? And what fault could be found with the means, if thoſe principles juſtified them? Why need they trouble their heads about conſequences that would not affect themſelves? or, if they would, and ſuch exiſtence appeared precarious without thoſe means, was it not neceſſary they ſhould be uſed, and the conſequences diſregarded?—If the means be ſucceſsful to the end for which they ſeem deſigned, it requires no prophetic ſpirit to foretel that the conſequences may be———bad enough. Whether the preſent Commiſſioners, or any Board of Commiſſioners at all (whoſe appointments are fully equal to any benefit the Nation or Colonies are likely to reap from them, and whoſe uſefulneſs hitherto may be valued by ſome of the negative quantities in algebra) are *things* of importance enough to hazard thoſe conſequences, or any ill conſequence at all, is humbly ſubmitted to the wiſdom of adminiſtration to determine.

The conſequent impoſſibility of their holding boards—This impoſſibility was of their own creating. If they had continued in town (from whence they had not the leaſt reaſon to depart, unleſs to anſwer purpoſes they would chooſe to conceal) they might have held their boards as uſual.

The detriment thence ariſing to the Revenue, and his Majeſty's ſervice—If any ſuch detriment has ariſen, the fault is their own. *His Majeſty's ſervice* is a cant term in the mouths of underſtrappers in office. Many of them either

ther do not know the meaning of it, or abuſe it to anſwer their own corrupt purpoſes. It is uſed to expreſs ſomething diſtinct from the ſervice of the people. The King and People are placed by it in oppoſite intereſts. Whereas, by the happy conſtitution we are under, the intereſt of the King is the intereſt of the people, and his ſervice is their ſervice: both are one, and conſtitutionally inſeparable. They who attempt to ſeparate them attempt to deſtroy the conſtitution. Upon every ſuch parricide may the vengeance both of King and People deſcend.

Government at an end—This has been the cry ever ſince the ſtamp-act exiſted. If the people ſaw they were going to be enſlaved; if they ſaw Governor *Bernard* (from whom they had a right to expect that he would do nothing to promote it) was zealous and active to rivet the chains; and that *his* government, in its principles and conduct, tended to the eſtabliſhment of a tyranny over them, was it unnatural for them in ſuch a caſe to reluct? was it unreaſonable to refuſe an acquieſcence in ſuch meaſures? Did an oppoſition to them indicate a diſregard to government? If government, in the true idea of it, has for its object the good of the governed, *ſuch* an adminiſtration could not be called government: and an oppoſition to it by no means included an oppoſition to government. From ſuch an oppoſition has ariſen the cry, that government is at an end. The ſooner *ſuch* government is at an end the better.

When a people have loſt all confidence in government, it is vain to expect a cordial obedience to it. Hence irregularities may ariſe, and have ariſen. But they will ceaſe, when the true ends of government are ſteadily purſued. Then, and not till then, may it be expected, that men of weight and influence will exert themſelves to make government reſpected. Nay, ſuch exertions will then be needleſs, for mankind cannot help reſpecting what is in itſelf reſpectable, eſpecially when it is at the ſame time ſo promotive of their own good as good government is.

The province in a ſtate of rebellion—Into this ſtate its enemies, on both ſides of the *Atlantic*, have been endeavouring to bring it. When they could not make it ſubſervient to their intereſt and views; and when their meaſures had raiſed a ſpirit of oppoſition to them, that oppoſition was made the lucky occaſion to repreſent the province in a ſtate

of

of rebellion, or verging towards it. To juſtify ſuch a repreſentation the more fully, they endeavoured to drive it into that ſtate: whereby in the end they might hope to gratify both their malice and avarice: their malice, by injuring it moſt eſſentially; and their avarice, by the ſubjection of it to their tyranny and pillage. But nothing can be more falſe than ſuch a repreſentation: nothing more foreign from this people than a diſpoſition to rebellion. The principles of loyalty were planted in our breaſts too deep to be eradicated by *their* efforts, or any efforts whatever: and our intereſt co-operated with thoſe principles.

It is humbly hoped his Majeſty will not be influenced, by *ſuch* repreſentations, to think unfavorably of *his faithful ſubjects of this province:* and *that* hope is grounded upon their innocence: of which they have the higheſt evidence in their own conſciouſneſs; and of which they have given their adverſaries no other cauſe to doubt, than what ariſes from an oppoſition to *their* meaſures. Meaſures, not only ruinous to the province, but hurtful to *Great Britain*, and deſtructive of the union, and commercial intercourſe, which ought always to ſubſiſt between her and her Colonies.

The foregoing Obſervations appeared neceſſary to vindicate the Town and Province from the aſperſions ſo unjuſtly caſt upon them. The few that follow refer to the preſent and future ſtate of *Great Britain* and her Colonies.

HOW happy is *Britain* with regard to ſituation, and and many internal circumſtances; and in her connection with her Colonies!

Separated from the reſt of the world, and poſſeſſed of ſo large a naval force, ſhe is ſecure from foreign invaſions: her government (well adminiſtred) is the beſt exiſting; her manufactures are extenſive, and her commerce in proportion. To the two latter the Colonies have in a conſiderable degree contributed. By theſe means ſhe has riſen to her preſent opulence and greatneſs, which ſo much diſtinguiſh her among the powers of *Europe*. But however great and opulent ſhe may be, ſhe is capable of being ſtill more ſo; and ſo much ſo, that ſhe may be deemed at preſent in a ſtate of minority, compared with what ſhe will one day probably

probably be, if her own conduct does not prevent it. The means of this greatneſs are held out to her by the Colonies; and it is in her power, by a kind and juſt treatment of them, to avail herſelf of thoſe means.

The Coloniſts are huſbandmen, and till lately have manufactured but a ſmall part of their clothing, and the other articles with which they had been uſually ſupplied from *Great Britain.* But they have been taught by experience they can ſupply themſelves; and *that* experience (which has been forced upon them) has demonſtrated moſt clearly, that they have within themſelves the means of living conveniently, if not with elegance, even if their communication with the reſt of mankind were wholly cut off. This, however, could not be an eligible ſtate: but no one intitled to and deſerving the liberties of an *Engliſhman*, can heſitate a moment to ſay, that it would be preferable to ſlavery; to which the Coloniſts have apprehended themſelves doomed, by the meaſures that have been purſued by Adminiſtration.

If the Coloniſts might be permitted to follow their inclinations, with which at the ſame time their intereſt coincides, they would be huſbandmen ſtill, and be ſupplied as uſual from *Great Britain.* The yearly amount of thoſe ſupplies (as appears by the exports from *Britain*) is very conſiderable*, and might be in future in proportion to the increaſe

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* The value of the exports from *Britain* to the Colonies in 1766, which was leſs than in 1765, ſtood thus:

To *New Englund* - - -	£ 409,642
New York - - - - -	330,829
Penſylvania - - - -	327,314
Virginia and *Maryland* -	372,548
Carolina - - - - -	296,732
	£ 1,737,065

This is taken from *The Preſent State of the Nation:* in which there is an account of the ſaid exports for the years 1765 and 1766 only.

Now, ſuppoſing the obſervation juſt, that the Coloniſts (whoſe number by the ſaid Pamphlet is eſtimated two millions) double every twenty years, and the exports from *Great Britain* to the Colonies ſhould increaſe in that proportion, the value of the ſaid exports

increaſe of the Coloniſts. Their increaſe is rapid: they are daily emigrating from the old towns, and forming new ones; and if they double their numbers every twenty years, as it is ſaid they will continue to do, ſo long as they can form into families by procuring the means of ſubſiſtence at an eaſy rate, which probably will be the caſe, till *America* ſhall be well peopled, there will be in a ſhort time a prodigious addition to his Majeſty's ſubjects; who, if not compelled to manufacture for themſelves, will occaſion a proportionable demand for the manufactures of *Great Britain*. If it be conſidered

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exports and the number of the Coloniſts, at the end of five ſuch periods after 1766, will ſtand thus:

		Value of Exports.	
In	1766	£ 1,737,065	for two millions of Coloniſts,
	1786	3,474,130	for four millions,
	1806	6,948,260	for eight millions,
	1826	13,896,520	for ſixteen millions,
	1846	27,793,040	for thirty-two millions,
	1866	55,586,080	for ſixty-four millions of Coloniſts.

The laſt mentioned numbers are ſo large, that it is likely the principles on which they are formed may be called into queſtion. Let us therefore take only one quarter part of thoſe numbers; and then the value of exports from *Britain* to the Colonies, in 1866, will be more than thirteen millions ſterling for ſixteen millions of Coloniſts. It is highly probable, by *that* time there will be at leaſt that number of Coloniſts in the *Britiſh* Colonies on this continent. Now, in caſe there be no interruption of the union and harmony that ought to ſubſiſt between *Great Britain* and her Colonies, and which it is their mutual intereſt ſhould ſubſiſt and be maintained, what good reaſon can be given why ſuch exports ſhould not bear as great a proportion to the number of the Coloniſts as they do at this time? If they ſhould, the value of ſuch exports (which will be continually increaſing) will be at leaſt thirteen millions *per annum*. A ſum far ſurpaſſing the value of all the exports from *Great Britain* at this day.

In what proportion ſo vaſt a trade with the Colonies would enlarge the other branches of her trade; how much it would increaſe the number of her people, the rents and value of her lands, her wealth of every ſpecies, her internal ſtrength, her naval power, and particularly her revenue (to enhance which in a trifling degree has occaſioned the preſent uneaſineſs between her and the Colonies) are matters left to the calculation and deciſion of the political arithmeticians of *Great Britain*.

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conſidered too, that *America*, from its different ſoils and climates, can raiſe perhaps all the productions of other countries in the ſame latitudes: which being remitted in exchange would moſt of them be rough materials for *Britain* to manufacture; what a fund of wealth and power will *America* be to her! Her inhabitants, of every denomination, by finding employment, and the conſequent means of ſubſiſtence, will greatly encreaſe; and her trade and navigation be in proportion. She might then view with indifference the interdiction of her trade with other parts of the world; though ſhe would always have it in her power, from the ſuperiority of her naval force, which ſuch a trade and navigation would enable her to ſupport, to do herſelf juſtice, and command univerſal reſpect.

Connected with her Colonies, ſhe would then be a mighty empire: the greateſt, conſiſting of people of one language, that ever exiſted.

If theſe obſervations be not wholly viſionary, and a mere reverie, they poſſibly may not be unworthy the conſideration of Parliament: whoſe wiſdom will determine, whether any revenue whatever, even the greateſt that *America* could poſſibly produce, either without or with her good will, would compenſate the loſs of ſuch wealth and power; or juſtify meaſures that had the leaſt tendency to bring them into hazard: or whether for ſuch a revenue it would be worth while to hazard even the preſent advantages, reſulting to *Great Britain* from an union and harmony with her Colonies.

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